

LIVERPOOL CLASSICAL MONTHLY

Vol. 13 No 2 February 1988

Edited, printed and published at Liverpool
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Dept of Classics and Archaeology
The University,
P.O. Box 147 Liverpool, L69 3BX,
RATES for 1988, 10 issues (not August and September)
SURFACE £8.50 UK, £9.50 Europe, \$(US)17.50 elsewhere
AIR £10 Europe, \$(US)27.50 N.America, \$(US)35 Australasia.



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With 'this number of *LCM*' the Editor hopes that its production and distribution return to normal after the interruptions caused partly by Christmas and the New Year and partly by the process of learning how to employ the new technology to best advantage. But that we were right to introduce it there can be no doubt, and a number of correspondents have been kind enough to write in praise of the new appearance. One in particular said that it increased the *voluptas legendi*, adding that the illustrations (which another had thought to constitute some form of editorial comment) gave a new meaning to the phrase *ornamenta orationis*. However, it does take longer to produce each number, and the Editor feels that he owes it to subscribers to give some account why this is so, while thanking them for their kind tolerance of the delays experienced with the last two numbers (and, those who are still awaiting them, for that in printing back-numbers, which have had to go on the back burner).

Contributions are first of all set on the MacPlus by the Editor, not necessarily in the order in which they will finally appear. This is then printed out on the LaserWriter Plus and proofed by the EA, a process which usually alters the amount of space taken up. She then formats them in the best order, and only then are the headers added and the pagination finalized. The master is then printed out on the LaserWriter Plus and copied on the OCE, after which it has to be collated, put into envelopes, and franked for the post. It is the aim of the EA to produce a number which has no printing errors in it, literal or otherwise — a great change from what readers had come to expect of the Editor's uncorrected typing.

The Editor was right in supposing that 'Barron' was only the beginning of a process rather than the end, and from what he hears the infighting has intensified. In particular it is once again necessary to correct reports, which have percolated to the schools, that linguistic Classics will no longer be offered at Liverpool. He can do no better than to quote from the account of the new Department of Classics and Archaeology that the Head of the Department, Dr. Blumenthal, contributed to the latest number of the University's house journal, in which he stated that 'A new language-based Classics degree will replace three current degrees in October 1989', and to ask all readers in this country to assist in squashing these pernicious and damaging rumours.

The Editor has always been something of a democratic centralist, but even he has been

alarmed (as perhaps he was meant to be) by an article in the *Observer* of 17.1.88, by John Griffiths, Emeritus Professor of Public Law in the University of London (a man with a more radical reputation than the Editor) on the implications of the Education Reform Bill. Professor Griffiths quotes the chairman of the UGC as believing that the Government are thinking in terms of 'buying certain services from Universities' by means of payments to them by the Universities Funding Council, which may impose (as indeed the UGC does now) 'terms and conditions'. Since Government in this as in other countries (Australia, from what he hears) wants to discourage those studies which do not directly contribute to the economic life of the country, the implications for Classics could be bad, if the Bill becomes law unmodified, unless we can persuade people that its study does fit people for the service of Church and State'. Otherwise, we must become monasteries to keep classical learning alive. But, *nil desperandum*.

Of this more next month. But finally this month he must welcome what is in some ways yet another LCM clone, *Classical Book News*, published quarterly by Bristol Classical Press. Though primarily a catalogue, it will include a leader (the first by the ubiquitous P.V.Jones), letters and articles (he thinks of general interest) of up to 1200 words. Is evolution superseding the



Phillip Harding (U.B.C., Vancouver) : *Laughing at Isokrates: humour in the Areopagitikos?*
LCM 13.2(Feb.1988), 18-23

This is an unaltered version of a paper read at the Classical Association of Canada, Winnipeg, 1986.

I am always amazed at those who believe that Isokrates wrote some, though, for some strange reason, not all, of his essays with the intention of influencing contemporary Athenian politics; on the other hand I am not the least bit surprised that those who hold this view find that he was 'a man of small originality of thought' and that he had 'negligible political influence' (R.J.Seager, *CR* 16 [1966], 405). Since, however, this opinion is directly contrary to that of his contemporary Plato, a man of much mind, who grudgingly accorded Isokrates *τις φιλοσοφία* (*Phaidros* 279a-b), the possibility should be entertained that it is not Isokrates who lacks intellect but his critics. Maybe they have been looking for the wrong thing.

It seems like a lifetime since I produced my first and, as I still fondly believe, my best contribution to classical scholarship in *California Studies in Classical Antiquity* (1973), 137-149, a contribution whose express purpose was to demonstrate the absence of evidence for the idea that Isokrates was a political pamphleteer and to suggest that he was a man of wit and intelligence. Old attitudes die hard. This is especially true of those that are most wrong. Until recently my view has been dismissed without argument as unconvincing and unpersuasive, a treatment usually reserved by scholars for those opinions they cannot refute, but do not wish to hear. But things are looking up. At last the challenge has been met. In a recent volume of *AJAH* (7 [1982], 118-127) one, R.A.Moysey, has seized the bull by the horns. Whether he has wrestled it to its knees is for others to judge. If you ask my opinion, his arguments are quite unconvincing. But the matter has become academic. During the decade or so that has elapsed since I first challenged the idea that the speech *On the Peace* was designed to turn the Athenians away from the evils of a renewed imperialism that had provoked some of the allies into fighting the Social War, two studies have independently arrived at a conclusion that gives new weight to my contention — to wit, the Social War was not the result of Athenian imperialism.

Jack Cargill in his book on *The Second Athenian League* (Berkeley, U.Cal.P, 1981, 178ff.) has argued successfully, if rather over enthusiastically, that Athens abided by the terms outlined in the foundation document (*IG* II, 2nd ed, 43), and was not guilty of renewed imperialism, at least as far as the allies were concerned. Further, in a recent article (*GRBS* 24 [1983], 321-332) he has shown that even the controversial Klerouchy to Samos (336/5) was probably popular with exiled Samian democrats, who had been living at Athens as citizens since the restoration of the democracy in 403. Many of those found this the moment to go home. The Social War, he believes, was stirred up against Athens by outside powers, like Thebes and Persia, and Byzantion, a state that was at last waking up to its own self-interest (that of controlling the taxation of the merchandise, especially grain, that passed through the Bosphoros) and whose defection from the

League (c. 3364) had been aided and abetted by Thebes. Persian involvement was represented by Mausolos of Karia. S.Hornblower agrees¹. Demosthenes (15.3) had branded Mausolos 'the instigator and persuader' of the Social War, and his statement, says Hornblower, must be taken seriously. Elsewhere Diodorus (16.7.3) alluded to material aid given to the rebels by Mausolos, and since he had a fleet of about 100 warships this is quite conceivable (Hornblower 209-12). Mausolos was serving both his own interest and the wishes of the Great King, who was unhappy that his forces had been driven out of Samos by the Athenians.

I find these arguments all very attractive. One might add that with the exception of Khios and Rhodes (lost in the war) the situation Demosthenes laments in *Crown* 234 — that it was only the weakest of the Islands that supported Athens on the eve of Chaironeia — was not so far from being the state of affairs in 357. Athens had to do a lot of policing and protecting. She seems to have taken her responsibilities seriously (viz. the honours voted to Androtion by the people of Arkesine on Amorgos; *IG* XII [7] 5. Only the chance of preservation would suggest that this was an isolated case). But there was a cost. Maybe the allies were more of a burden to Athens than she to them. Certainly the state of Athens' finances improved dramatically after Chaironeia, when she was forced to dissolve the League. This is normally put down to the financial wizardry of Lykurgos. Maybe it did not hurt that he had fewer bills to pay. Anyway the lesson is well taught and worth the learning — that it is quite inappropriate to interpret 4th-century history as though it were a second-rate replay of the 5th. No small part of the blame for the fact that we were ever tempted to do so must, of course, be laid at Isokrates' door, for he, more than any other author, talks about the 4th century in 5th-century terms — to such an extent, in fact, that one can legitimately wonder what century he was writing for, if, that is, he was writing for any century at all. Anyway, thanks to the work of J.Cargill and S.Hornblower, we can be sure that in the case of his song and dance in *On the Peace* about the evils of imperialism and the need to be nice to the allies in order to get their good will, Isokrates was completely out of touch with the reality of the situation. Athens was looking after her allies.

It is, then, one of the more perplexing paradoxes of contemporary classical scholarship that those very scholars who have helped open our eyes to this important realization are those who adhere most adamantly to the view that Isokrates wrote with the intention of influencing contemporary Athenian politics. This is especially true to J.Cargill, whose whole book is designed to prove the error of Isokrates' second-empire theory², whilst at the same time he happily accepts the accuracy of the adverse characterization of Khares, which was first put abroad by Isokrates³. 'Jack, Jack', someone should say, 'you cannot have your cake and eat it in this way'.

¹ *Mausolus* (Oxford 1982), 193ff.. To be fair, Hornblower does subscribe to the view that Athenian behaviour during the decade prior to the Social War, especially those actions in which Timotheos was involved, had created an opening for Mausolos.

² The situation is, perhaps, a little more complicated than I suggest. For example, Cargill does recognise (176ff.) that *On the Peace* is the cornerstone of the 'second-empire theory', but maintains that modern scholars have been responsible for this interpretation. Isokrates, he says, did not adduce any specific criticism of the Second League's performance before the Social War, rather he criticized Athens' behaviour at the time by reference to the evils of the 5th-century empire. Therefore he has no complaint with the Second League before 357. This argument is either outrageously sophistic, in that it chooses to ignore the fact that Isokrates could hardly go into details about the decade before 357, when his star pupil, Timotheos, had been trampling on many toes and losing Athens a lot of *εὐνοία* (as Hornblower emphasizes, 194f.), or naive, in that it fails to recognise that Isokrates regularly used 5th-century *exempla*. For example, when he wanted to praise *ῥήγνυσα*, he did not cite the early history of the Second League, as he surely should if Cargill is right, but went back to the early days of the Delian Confederacy, and thus, incidentally, left himself a prey to all those nonsensical modern theories that he was a 'Kimonian' at heart. And Cargill cannot explain that annoying *volte-face* on the subject of *ἀρχή* between the *Panegyrikos* and *On the Peace* that has caused so much squirming and writhing by modern scholars. The unfortunate fact is that Isokrates' works provide grist for any mill. Like the great *ρήτωρ* he was he knew how to bait a hook.

³ The discrepancy between Khares' career of loyal service to the *demos*, as revealed by the inscriptional and historical evidence, and the literary tradition that he was an abusive bully who drove the allies to revolt, is manifest. One has only to look at the depiction of Khares in

Old attitudes die hard, indeed. I thought I would have one more shot at killing this one.

Of all Isokrates' speeches the two that are most persistently considered to have been designed to influence contemporary politics are *On the Peace* and *Areopagitikos*. Since it is obvious that the topical relevance of *On the Peace* is now seriously compromised, a breach has at last been made in the bastion of befuddled belief in Isokrates' bourgeois bias. It is due time to scale the heights of the hitherto impregnable *Areopagitikos*. At first sight this seems madness. The speech reads like an advertisement for the Puritan Ethic. In his imaginary and ideal Eden Isokrates envisages the poor as happy to work hard and save their pennies (ἐργάζεσθαι καὶ φείδεσθαι, 24). They did not begrudge the rich their wealth nor conspire to take from others what did not belong to them. The reason for this was that the rich did not jealously guard their cash nor keep it hidden under the mattress, but with a generosity that would have gladdened the heart of a modern bank manager lent their money out, at interest, to the needy. *Chargex* would understand why it was those ideal gentlemen were 'happier to see those who came to borrow than to repay' (ἀλλ' ἥδιον ἑώραν τοῖς δανειζομένοις ἢ τοῖς ἀποδιδόντας, 35). This socio-economic harmony found its parallel in politics. The poor did not compete for magistracies. They left those to the people who could afford it. There was, of course, no pay for public service in paradise. Yet the ordinary Athenian was in control of affairs through his vote. He elected the magistrates. Elected, please note; they were not selected by the lot. For in this way the people would be sure to choose only democratically-minded magistrates. The lottery, as everyone knew, was erratic and could at any time turn up an oligarch. In charge of this ideal world was the Areiopagus, a body in whom resided all virtue. They formed a sort of morality squad, supervising the day to day life of every individual Athenian to an extent that surely made Demetrios of Phaleron green with envy. But morality is not the result of laws, but of upbringing. They had it because they were trained to believe in σωφροσύνη. The majority of the work is concerned with this concept and its absence from contemporary politics. At first sight a most conservative document. We must not, however, be daunted by appearances. The *Areopagitikos* repays closer scrutiny.

The first point to note is that Isokrates does not project his Ideal State into the future, but back into the imaginary past. It has already existed once upon a time in the 'Good Old Days', by comparison with which contemporary society stinks. This notion of a fall from Grace is not original to Isokrates; in fact, like most of his ideas, it is not original at all (viz. the notion that he was a man of 'little originality of thought'). It is at least as old as Hesiod's Five Ages of Man. In Athens it has become an integral part of the Ancestor-theme — our forefathers were so much better than us. When applied specifically to morality and the education that creates the proper moral attitudes, however, it is clearly a popular prejudice that the simple but morally upright education of the past was superior to that questioning and society-threatening instruction offered by the Sophists, the professional teachers, men, dare we say it, like Isokrates himself. We see this most clearly in the person of the peasant-farmer, Strepsiades, in the *Clouds* of Aristophanes.

At this point I have to confess to a peculiar folly of mine. I laugh at Aristophanes. I do not belong to that school of thought that sees him as a conservative reactionary criticizing new ideas and trends in Athenian society, nor, as will become apparent, do I believe that he was a social-revolutionary. In particular I follow K.J.Dover (in his edition, Oxford 1968, p.lxvi) in the view that in the *Clouds* Aristophanes is not only finding humour in some of the more ridiculous aspects of the New Learning, but also pointing out the more ludicrous features of the traditional, especially the idea that what was good for your father has to be good for you. Now here's a conundrum. Isokrates, who on current thinking, as for example that of K.Bringmann, *Studien zu den politischen Ideen des Isokrates*, Göttingen 1965, 75-95, wrote the *Areopagitikos* as political propaganda for the aspirations of a small elite segment of Athenian society, the alienated rich, chose as the fundamental theme of his work a prejudice that belonged to the uneducated majority, a prejudice that was hostile to the very profession by which he made his living and, furthermore, a prejudice that had been ridiculed on the stage many years before. No wonder we think he was dim.

But the mention of Aristophanes suggests another approach. When I originally planned this talk I had thought that at this point I would refer you to several passages in the *Areopagitikos* which are both popular and Aristophanic. For example, in paragraphs 25-26 Isokrates claims that in the good old days men did not go into politics to make their fortune, 'looking around from the literature before *On the Peace* (Aineias Taktikos 11.13-15; Xenophon, *Hell.* 7.2.18f.) to see where it originated. One can guess that the trial of Timotheus was the occasion.

day they entered office to see if the previous magistrate had left anything behind for the taking' (*ἐν τι λῆμμα παραλελοίπασιν οἱ πρότερον ἄρχοντες*), but they believed that magistrates should behave like household slaves (*ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τῶν κοινῶν ὥσπερ οἰκέτας*). Not only is it a popular prejudice held widely in all segments of Athenian society by those who did not have access to public funds that those who did were ripping off the public purse, but it is frequently voiced by the comic hero in Aristophanes' plays. This is nowhere more obvious than in the *Knights*, where, by contrast, those who lament the change that has come over *Demos* (who are usually called *Nikias* and *Demosthenes*) are specifically identified as his *OIKETAI*. Are these the sort of politicians Isokrates would have?

Again we know from the *Clouds* that it was a prejudice of the peasant farmer, like Strepsiades, that the sons of the wealthy indulged in flagrant extravagance and learned from their sophistic teachers to show disrespect to their elders; yet in terms strongly reminiscent of the *Dikaios Logos* with whom Strepsiades identifies (*Clouds* 262) Isokrates praises the youth of the good old days in *Areopagitikos* 48-94. And, of course, the statement in 54 that men of the present would not know where their daily bread was coming from if they did not get chosen for jury duty is lifted right out of *Wasps* 303f.⁴ On reflexion, however, I concluded that since most of these reminiscences of Old Comedy had been indicated by the editor of the Budé text they were all so obvious that you would have seen them for yourselves. So I decided to leave them out.

Maybe less obvious is Isokrates' use of certain comic techniques, like exaggeration and incongruity. As an example of exaggeration I offer *Areopagitikos* 29-30. In their relations with the gods the ancestors were not erratic or disorderly when they were observing their sacrifices. For example, they did not sacrifice 300 oxen on a whim. This reference is usually related to Khares' gift of oxen after his 'second Marathon'. More likely it is looking back to that passage in the *Knights* (652f) where the Sausage-Seller says, 'But when Paphlagon notices this, since he well knew what proposals pleased the Boulé, he made the motion: I propose that at these good tidings we sacrifice as thank-offerings (*εὐαγγελαῖς*) to Athena one hundred oxen'. As the Sausage-Seller overshot Paphlagon by raising the figure to 200, so Isokrates has overshot Aristophanes. But the passage goes on to reach its climax in a manner of argument typical of Isokrates, that is, the reduction through exaggeration to absurdity: not given over to extravagant observation of new cults to the neglect of the old, the ancestors knew that piety consisted in not changing anything that had come down from their ancestors (*ἐν τῷ μηδὲν κινεῖν ὧν αὐτοῖς οἱ πρόγονοι παρέδοσαν*). That line of argument, of course, can get you back to the case or the garden of Eden — as Isokrates confidentially but fantastically concludes: in those days even the weather behaved itself! (*καὶ γὰρ τοὶ κασὶ παρὰ τῶν θεῶν οὐκ ἐμπλήκτως οὔδὲ παραχωδῶς αὐτοῖς συνέβαινεν ἀλλ' εὐκαίρως καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἐργασίαν τῆς χώρας καὶ πρὸς τὴν συγκμοιδὴν τῶν καρπῶν*)

As an example of incongruity I ask you to take your minds back to §§ 57f. of the *Areopagitikos*. There Isokrates, who has been criticizing the constitution of the present, is pulled up short by an imaginary *πῖς*, who warns him that he could get into trouble if he went on in this way. People could think he was *μισόδημος*. 'Heaven forbid', says Isokrates, 'nothing could be further from the truth. I'm always saying nice things about democracy. Why, given the choice between the present democracy and the Thirty Tyrants, I'd take the democracy any day'.

Incongruous, too, is the whole idea of depicting that most revolutionary period in Athenian history, the time of Solon, as the moment when there existed the greatest social, economic and political harmony, though I believe there are some who see propaganda in this. And what a nice touch to suggest (32) that the way the wealthy maintained full employment in those days was by having some of the poor work on the land for 'reasonable pay' and sending others out *κατ' ἐμπορίαν* (that most Solonian pastime: Hdt.1.29.1; Aristotle, *AthPol* 11.1).

A passage that combines exaggeration and incongruity is *Areopagitikos* 48-50, in praise of the virtues of the young of that time. It is a nicely worked out period, opening and closing with the word *διατρέβω*. It builds in hysteria progressing from the least likely but most outrageous

⁴ Of course, the prejudice against those who had the time to serve on the juries and received state remuneration for doing so is not peculiar to the Old Oligarch, but crossed socio-economic lines, just as today anyone with seemingly secure employment (whether he is a labourer, doctor or multi-millionaire) can be prejudiced against those on welfare. They quickly change their tune when they lose their jobs.

⁵ It may not mean much that the only time Isokrates uses this word is in *Areopagitikos* 10.

crime (going to gambling dens and consorting with flute girls) through the least outrageous but most likely (talking back to parents) to the claim that even decent slaves 'did not eat or drink in a tavern'. Finally we learn the fantastic fact (fantastic from a man who ran an expensive intellectual establishment) that in those days to be dull of wit was a gift of fortune. Then incongruously Isokrates turns around and says, 'not that I'm ill-disposed to the young of today, I know that most of them are very unhappy with the permissive society they live in'.

Finally, am I imagining it when I see paradoxical humour in the conceit that so much virtue resided in the Areiopagus to his day (38) that even unendurably evil men became good when they entered the Council? This is a typically Isokratean reduction to absurdity through exaggeration.

As I was trying my talk out on some students the other day, one of them interrupted at this point and said, 'You won't persuade anyone with this sort of talk. You know that everyone will think it's all in your mind. No serious, sober scholar would have such delusions of humour in Isokrates. After all, the speech is all about *sophrosyne*, and that's a most unfunny virtue'. I must admit he expressed himself so forcibly that with great reluctance I gave up the idea of mentioning any of the afore-mentioned points. Instead I decided to concentrate all my attention on that one key issue - *sophrosyne* itself.

Nobody who has written about the *Areopagitikos* has failed to find *sophrosyne* in it. One Ph.D. dissertation even maintained that just as Plato wrote the *Republic* to find justice, so Isokrates created the *Areopagitikos* for *sophrosyne*⁶. And everybody appears to know what Isokratean *sophrosyne* is: who better to quote on this than Helen North?⁷

Isokrates is always severely critical of Athenian democracy in his own time and often suggests that absence of *sophrosyne* is the cardinal evil. He reviews domestic affairs chiefly in the *Areopagitikos* and the *Panathenaicus*, and foreign policy in the *Panegyricus* and *On the Peace*. In all four addresses he appears as a *laudator temporis acti* and helps to construct that semi-mythical picture of Athens in her golden age of *sophrosyne* and justice which soon became a commonplace in history, biography and rhetoric. A typical expression of this attitude is the idealised portrait in the *Areopagitikos* of the well-disciplined, healthy state, which valued *sophrosyne* and *metriotes* (4, 13, 20) and entrusted control of education to the Areopagus, whose members all shared not merely noble birth but great *arete* and *sophrosyne* (37). The conduct of the young in those days is described in terms reminiscent of the *Dikaios Logos* in the *Clouds*; Isokrates says that the did not frequent gambling dens or associate with flute girls, but even in the streets always behaved with great *aidôs* and *sophrosyne* (48). In each of these passages, *sophrosyne* is the old aristocratic ideal of quietude, restraint, and *eukosmia*. It is significant that Isokrates often associates this kind of *sophrosyne* with good birth.

In the presence of such magisterial confidence, one might feel hesitant to raise a discordant voice, if it were not that Isokrates himself does at the very beginning of this essay (4). 'Wealth and power', he says, 'are attended by stupidity (*anoia*) and lack of self-control (*akolasia*), *sophrosyne* and *metriotes*, on the other hand, belong to those in need and the lowly'. You will note, I hope, that he goes on to reduce this intriguing thought to the absurdly logical conclusion that as a result men really have difficulty deciding which of the two portions - wealth or poverty - to bequeath to their sons.

While it is true that fourth-century thinkers were waking up to the idea that wealth might not be good for you, and that the corrupting influence it had was noted as early as the sixth-century by that most platitudinous of poets, Solon (fr. 48⁸), the only place one finds *sophrosyne* specifically associated with poverty is in Aristophanes, *Ploutos* 563. In the midst of a passage where *Penia* is trying (surely with humorous sophistry, for I continue to laugh at Aristophanes even when he is considered a social-revolutionary⁹) to maintain the truly 'Isokratean' concept that poverty is good for you because it drives you to hard work, she makes the claim that *sophrosyne* and *kosmiotes* reside with her. Quite appropriately Khremyos snorts in disbelief,

⁶ A. Bloom, *The Political Philosophy of Isokrates*, Diss. Chicago (unpublished), 1955

⁷ H. North, *Sophrosyne* (New York 1966), 143-4.

⁸ See K. J. Dover, *Greek Popular Morality* (Oxford 1974), 109f..

⁹ As he is, for example, by E. David, *Aristophanes and Athenian Society of the Early Fourth Century B.C.* (Leiden 1984).

but how confusing to find Isokrates introducing a work all about *sophrosyne* with a peculiar characteristic of it, one that is almost word for word out of Aristophanes, by whom it has been ridiculed.

Ladies and gentlemen, I see that my time is more than up. It goes without saying that I have countless other points up my sleeve, but enough has been said, I hope, to demonstrate that there is humour in Isokrates' *Areopagitikos* and to suggest the possibility that he wrote the work to make fun of that very popular notion that the past was always better than the present.

I have attempted to acquit a man of the charge of intellectual ineptitude and bourgeois bombast and to show him forth as the wit he really was, whilst at the same time demonstrating that the critics who level those charges against him are themselves witless and dull of mind. I do not claim to have created an *enkomion* for Isokrates, *ἐμὸν δὲ παλῆγον*.

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OTTO SKUTSCH (London) *More notes on the Mulomedicina Chironis*

LCM 13.2 (Feb. 1988), 23-24

I am greatly indebted to Professor Fischer for friendly criticism and for checking some of my statements with the help of his computerized index.

In CR 51 (1937), 56-7, I published some critical notes on the so-called *Mulomedicina Chironis*, trying to show what a new edition of that very difficult text should achieve. The first and only edition of it was published in 1901 by E. Oder, an eminent expert in the field of veterinary medicine, with the assistance of leading Latinists such as F. Buecheler. In order, however, to be available for the *Thesaurus* the work had to be completed with some haste, and a very long list of *Addenda* showed how much more, given time, the editor would have done. Now that edition, thanks to many contributions especially from Swedish scholars headed by E. Löfstedt, is very much out of date. An edition of Books II and III (pp. 21-80 Oder) was published in 1910 by M. Niedermann, who greatly improved the text of that section; but now we may look forward to a new edition of the whole work by Professor K. D. Fischer. That must be welcome news both to scholars interested in the history of the subject and in particular to Latinists, since the author, a man of scant education, writing about A.D. 400, wrote much the same sort of Latin as he spoke. Unfortunately, however, it is very difficult to decide what is his own Latin, which was severely criticized by Vegetius using the work some years later, and what is textual corruption bound to have occurred in the transmission of a text written in unorthodox Latin, not very highly regarded, and preserved only in a poor 15th century manuscript.

Some of the suggestions made here will appear in the text or critical apparatus of Professor Fischer's edition; but it seems nevertheless worth while publishing them here with very brief supporting argument. References are to the pages and lines of Oder's edition.

10.27 *quibuscumque iumentis suffusio in pedibus per uetustatem ungulas extrusicias habuerit*. So Oder without comment, but the lack of syntax is impossible even in this text. After *pedibus* an insertion such as *fuert uel* must be made.

40.18 (*febris autumnalis*) *signa sunt haec: auscitatur, oculi lacrimantur et toto corpore calebit, nec cibus illum iuuabit. et si sanus factus fuerit, necesse est ab eo morbo pereat*. Oder writes with O. Morgenstern *si <in>sanus* (so *sanus* wrongly for *insanus* 83.6, after -m), but *<ni>si sanus* seems to go better with the following *sic eum curato*.

42.31; 43.28 At 42.15 *dare herbam mollem coelotum* Niedermann, comparing Cael. Aur. *chron.* 1.5.174, writes *coelioticum. coelotum*, retained by Oder, is correct. The same form appears, slightly corrupted, 42.31 (*dabis*) *herbam aut mollem gramen coelotum* (*locum* MS; Oder) *quantum ceperit*. and 43.28 *dare herbam aut molle gramen coelotum* (*lotum* MS; Oder) *nempe ieiuno*.

55.24/5 *De farciminoso . . . et graciles fiunt. cibum et potum sine dubitatione libenter accipiunt, sed ad medullas eorum nihil peruenit. propter quod totius corporis grauitatem patiuntur. et hilarem aspectum adferunt . . . grauitatem* does not go well with *hilarem aspectum adferunt*, and although it is stated later that they lose strength (30 *ex qua re contingit euiari*), we must write *gracilitatem*. Cf. 106.26 *propter quod corporis gracilitatem patiuntur*.

136.9f. *si quod iumentum peduclum in intestinis habuerit, signa erunt haec*. The sentence

which follows, *in pectore caput primo . . . quae signa ostendat*, makes no sense here. It is a reference to 135.21 *si quod iumentum pediculos habuerit in praecordiis* and must therefore be deleted. A similar reference has intruded at 152.21 and is there correctly deleted by Oder.

158.15 *si urinam non fecerit, cimices tres in sinistra manu sumito et eos ei perfricato et orificium qua consuerit urinam facere*. Oder deletes *et* before *orificium*. But an easier change, *os* for *eos*, brings the passage into line with *Hippiatrica* I p.174.14f. *κόριν ζῶντα εἰς τὸ οὖς αὐτοῦ ἔμβαλλε καὶ ἄλλον ἐπάνω τοῦ αἰδοῦ, ὅθεν οὐρεῖ, ἐπίτριψον*.

164.21 *simul fit tremidus totius corporis ab spasmo stomachi*. Rather than taking *tremidus* with Oder and others as an adjective I suggested in 1937 that it was a spelling variant of *tremitus*, a noun not attested elsewhere, but surviving in Italian *tremito*. That not only rids us of the odd construction of the genitive but has a precise parallel in 188.2 *strepidum* for *strepitum*, which I regrettably failed to mention.

167.31 *si iumentum araneam comederit in pabulo, signa haec erunt: huic tumor in toto corpore erit, plurimus circum auriculas et oculos et nares et femineum*. It is difficult to see why Oder writes *femina* for *femineum*. The parts of the body most strongly attacked are all small. *femineum* is *pars muliebris* as *γυναικεῖον* in Hippocrates and Aretaeus, and, apparently, *Hippiatrica* I p.43.24.

182.17 *et oleo utere et axungia ueteris. ligamentis* (so Oder correctly in the *Addenda* for *liquamentis*) *subigito ceruicem*. . . In line 25 Oder with good reason writes *uteris* for *ueteris*, and *oleum* is often used with *uetus* (83.15; 96.28; al.). So here in all probability *oleo uetere et axungia uteris*.

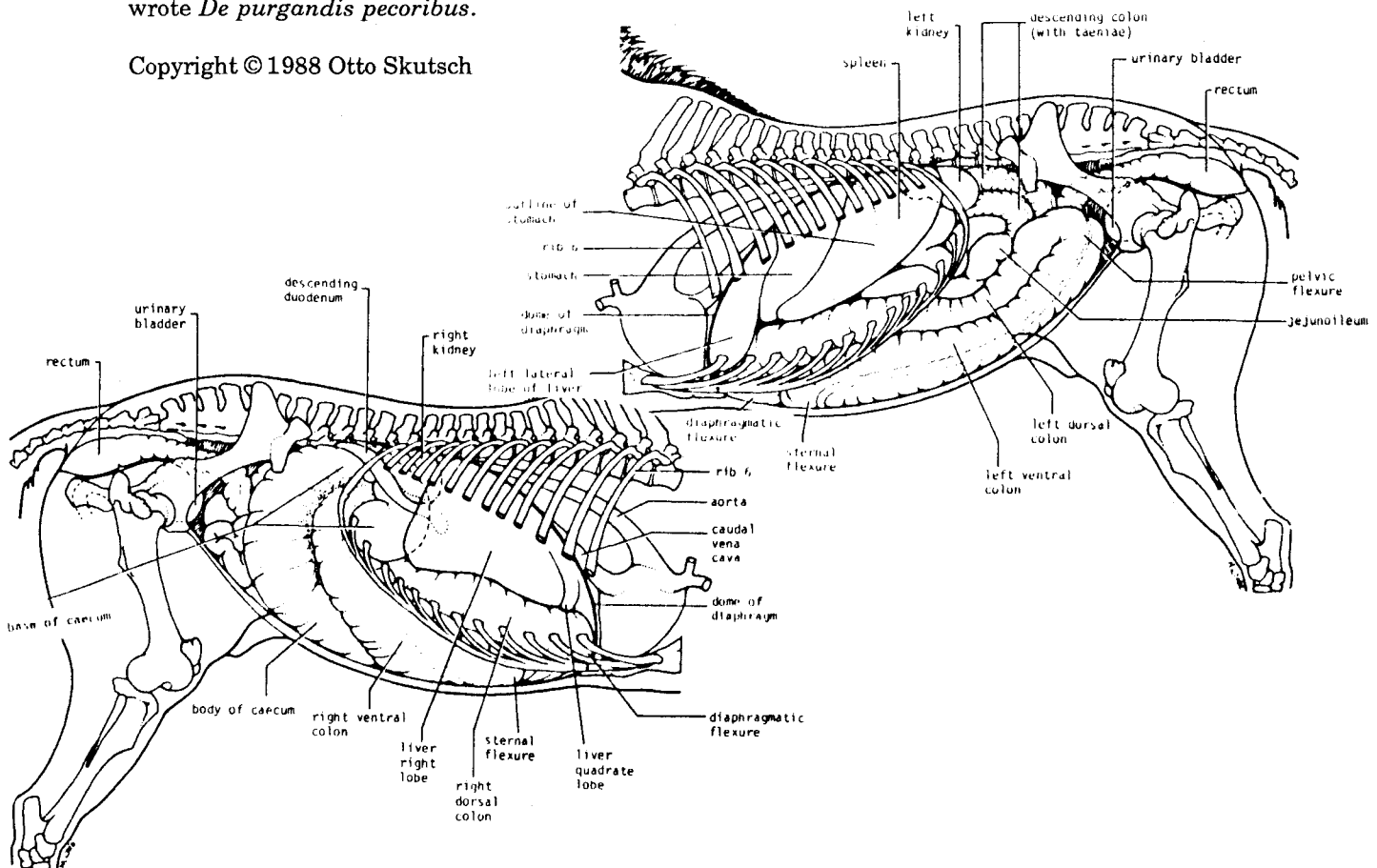
236.8 *cum pepererint et uiderint quod ex eis natum est, timent et fugiunt. propter hoc induntur loco tenebroso*. Oder passes *induntur* without comment, but the *Hippiatrica* in this context, II p.70.8, have *συγκλείουσιν οὖν αὐτήν*, and we should therefore read *in<clu>duntur*. Cf. 82.11 *loco refrigeranti et tenbricoso inclusum*; 116.2 *include eum loco tenebroso*. It is a simple case of haplography, *clu* resembling *du*.

236.11 *quaecunque praegnans est equa et uber dimiserit ad dexteriore partem [uidi], masculum pariturum intelligo*. So Oder, but the *Hippiatrica*, II p.70.12f., have *ἐκ τοῦ δεξιῶ*. Therefore I should prefer *a dexteriore parte*, followed perhaps by *inde*.

252.13 *potionem ad eos qui sanguinem meient. scorpiacem et semen fraxi (fraxini Swennung) et lexiuis ieiuno*. For *et lexiuis* read *e lexiu<a dau>is*. Cf. e.g. 251.19 *dabis ex uino optimo*; 256.19 *dabis iumento ieiuno*. The scribe of our MS (or a predecessor) '*permiscet b et v*' (Oder p.xx), and haplography therefore seems to have removed the verb, which is clearly required.

287.12 Book X begins: *De primis pecoribus*. This is followed by *ad purgandum caput iumentis puluerem per nares mittes* . . . I cannot guess what *prima pecora* could be. The author wrote *De purgandis pecoribus*.

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W.S.WATT (Aberdeen): *Two notes on Ovid* (?), *Nux* (47-50 & 125-6) LCM 13.2(Feb 1988), 25

47-50 *nam quod habent frutices aliquando proxima nostri*
fragmina, quod laeso uimine multa iacent,
non istis sua facta nocent, uicinia damno est:
excipiunt ictu saxa repulsa meo.
nostri uel nostris uel nobis codd.

The trees next to the nut-tree are sometimes damaged by stones aimed at it.

It has been traditional to take *fragmina* with the previous line, but this leaves *multa* without a substantive; if it is taken with what follows (as suggested by R.Holland, *Phil. Woch.* 45 [1925]. 140), the pentameter is completely satisfactory, and it only remains to extract sense from the hexameter taken by itself. The sense required by the context, 'the trees next to me suffer damage', can be obtained by (a) adopting Baehrens' *fructicet<a>*; this is a very easy change before *al-*, and no one can say that the author would not have allowed a light elision at the caesura, which (according to M.Platnauer, *Latin Elegiac Verse* [Cambridge 1951], 84) Ovid allows 24 times; (b) writing *noxam* at the end of the line to replace the various words beginning with *no-* which the manuscripts offer; a pronoun dependent on *proxima* is not essential for the sense here any more than it is at 54, *proxima quaeque*.

125-6 *dumque repurgat humum collectaque saxa remittit,*
semper habent in me tela parata uiae

The stones thrown at the tree are collected by the farmer and returned to the road, ready (the tree complains) to be used again.

The plural *uiae* is justifiably rejected by D.R.Shackleton Bailey in *Phoenix* 32 (1978), 305. The obvious subject of *habent* is 'the passers-by'; cf. 2, *a populo saxis praetereunte petor*; 167 *suumit tela uiator*. The only Latin noun I know which would fit both metrically and in point of meaning is *uri*, which can sometimes approach the sense of 'people' (*OLD* sense 4b).

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T.J.LEARY (Worcester College, Oxford): *Three observations on Ovid's Medicamina* (13-14, 63-4, 87-8). LCM 13.2(Feb.1988), 25-26

These points have been cannibalized from my Oxford MSt dissertation. My supervisor, Mr A.S.Hollis, and my examiners, Dr M.Winterbottom and Dr R.B.Rutherford, have all commented on the thesis and I owe a great deal to them, but none of them has seen this article as it now stands.

1). *cum matrona premens altum rubicunda sedile*
assiduo durum pollice nebat opus Med.13-14

premens is usually used by Ovid of a couch — cf. *Am.* 1.4.5, 3.14.32, *Ars* 2.712. In contrast *altum sedile* is very uncomfortable and virtuous. The stereotyped *materfamilias* is often depicted on Greek vases as sitting, whether spinning or not, in a high backed chair (as was first pointed out to me by Miss S.Meyrick). *altum sedile* might be a reference to this; see Dyfri Williams, 'Women on Athenian vases: Problems in interpretation' in Averil Cameron & Amelie Kuhrt, *Images of Women in Antiquity*, London 1984, 96, for the convention and its difficulties, principally that prostitutes could also be depicted thus — cf. Juvenal 3.136 . . . *alta Chionon deducere sella*.

2) *adice narcissi bis sex sine cortice bulbos*
strenua quos puro marmore dextra terat; Med.63-4

— While *puro* (codd.) *marmore* could refer to an ingredient, it is generally taken as referring to the use of a mortar and pestle. So be it ([Verg.] *Mor* 94-5 *servatum gramine bulbum | tinguat aqua lapidisque cavum demittit in orbem* offers an analogy). But why *puro*? Possibly the idea of cleanliness is meant (*OLD* §1a), but this seems unconvincing. Alternatively, *purus* might refer to the marble's colour (cf. perhaps Horace, *Carm.* 1.19.6 *Pario marmore purius*, where, however, *purius* refers principally to a girl's skin). But *purus* usually suggests a translucence (*OLD* §6b) which does not apply to marble. Given these difficulties, Heinsius suggested emending to *Pario*.

Emending to *duro*, (suggested to me by Dr M.Winterbottom), however, seems better, giving

good sense — the important thing about pestles is their hardness, not their colour — while balancing *strenua* nicely (the corruption of *DURO* to *PURO* would not have been difficult.)

3).
parte minus quarta dereptum cortice cummi
et modicum e murris pinguibus adde cubum
Med.87-88

One might well wonder whether *parte minus quarta* is in fact Latin, until one realizes that it is an Ovidian and poetic reflexion of the usual word for 9/12 or 3/4 *dodrans*, that is *de quadrans*, which Kühner-Stegman gloss 'ab 1/4 = 1/4 weniger' (§230.3); *parte minus quarta* means *de quadrans*, with *parte . . . quarta* corresponding to *quadrans* and *minus* reflecting *de*. It is still odd, perhaps, that Ovid does not specify a unit, *dodrans* meaning 3/4 of anything. A pound is possibly to be understood from *triens* (86), which in its context can refer to nothing else — see Lewis & Short s.v. *as*.

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J.F.KILLEEN (Galway): *An unrecognized pun in Suetonius, Nero 35.4?*

LCM 13.2(Feb.1988), 26

nullum adeo necessitatis genus est quod non scelere perculerit. Antoniam Claudii filiam, recusantem post Poppaeae mortem nuptias suas, quasi molitricem novarum rerum interemit; similiter inter ceteros aut affinitate aliqua sibi aut propinquitate coniunctos; in quibus Aulum Plautium iuvenem, quem cum ante morte per vim conspurcasset: eat nunc, inquit, mater mea et successorem meum osculetur, iactans dilectum ab ea et ad spem imperii impulsam.

Whether this atrocity actually occurred (see B.H.Warminton's commentary ad loc.), or was made up to illustrate Nero's frightfulness, the reference to the violation of Aulus Plautius before his murder concerns the *os profanatum* mentioned by Quintilian (11.1.84) as a sexual assault of an embarrassing kind when featuring in a court case. I believe that, in keeping with the circumstances that preceded the murder, there is a pun in *successorem*.

Many verbs in Latin developed a new supine, p.p.p. and *nomen agentis* on the analogy of the form of the perfect indicative (see Lindsay, *Latin Language*, 309 §155; 335 §28; 542: Kieckers, *Lat.Gramm.* §§ 279, 282, 284, 285; Leumann-Hoffmann-Szntyr, *Lat.Gramm.* I.341 & 342 (= 284 C 2). *pecto*, on the analogy of the perfect *pexi*, developed *pexus* beside *pectitus*; *torqueo* developed *torsum* and *torsor* beside *tortum* and *tortor* (Priscian, *Gram.* 2, p.487; Souter, *Glossary of Later Latin*); *figo*, *fixi* developed *fixus* and *fixor* (the latter glossed as *καθελωτης* TLL s.v.); *farcio*, *farsi* developed *farsum* and *farsus* and *farsor* (TLL s.v.) beside *fartum* and *fartus*; *tergeo* (*tergo*), *tersi* developed *tersum* and *tersus* beside the older *tertum* and *tertus* (Varro ap. Nonius 179.7 & 8); *mulgeo*, *mulsi* developed *mulsum* beside *mulctum*; *fluo*, *fluxi* developed *fluxum* beside the older *fluctum* (L&S s.v.); *sepelio*, from the perfect, developed *sepelitus* beside *sepultus*; *parco* developed *pepertus* from *peperci*; *fefellit*, on the analogy of the perfect *fefelli*, appears in Petronius (*Cena* 61.8); *censitus* and *censitor* arose from *censui* (L.-H.-Sz., op.cit. p.342; L&S s.v. p.315); *spargo*, *sparsi* developed *sparsus* (Lindsay, op.cit. p.309); etc..

Now the verb *sugo*, *suxi*, *suctum*, which appears in Latin in the obscene sense of *fello* (Adams, *The Latin Sexual Vocabulary*), could well have developed, in similar fashion, a new **suxum* and **suxor*, the latter of which, in the accusative case singular, would have punned with *successorem* in the above passage, in keeping with the phenomenon of pre-tonic syncope (Lindsay, op. cit. p.172): *succ'ssorem*. For example, *vetranus* for *veteranus* is found frequently in inscriptions of the Imperial period (L.-H.-Sz. op. cit. p.94); *perstroma* is from Greek *πεπλστρομα* (Lindsay p.172); the phenomenon is illustrated by such words as *disciplina* beside *discipulus* and *figlina* beside *figulus*. The tendency to syncope continued to assert itself at all periods of the language' (Lindsay pp.172ff., with many examples.

eat nunc, inquit, mater mea et successorem meum osculetur. The *i nunc et . . .* formula is common in taunts and ironical challenges (see L&S on *eo* II.B.6). The insult to Nero's mother is sharpened by *osculatur* in view of what preceded the murder; cf. Juvenal 6.50f. *paucae . . . | quarum non timeret pater oscula*, on which Friedlaender wrote: 'aus demselben Grunde aus dem Martialis I.94 zu einer Aegle (Ad Aeglen Fellatricem) sagt: basianda no es'.

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STURT W.MANNING Macquarie): *Augustus and the Araxes* (Virgil, Aeneid 8.728 . . . et pontem indignatus Araxes) LCM 13.2(Feb.1988), 27-29

Acknowledgement: *the author wishes to thank Dr C.E.V.Nixon and Ms Leonie Brown, both of whom read earlier versions of this paper.*

Recently Worthington (LCM 9.3(Mar.1984), 48) has discussed this line, and the question whether Augustus bridged the Araxes as Servius inferred ad.loc. (*cui Alexander Magnus pontem fecit, quem fluminis incrementa ruperunt. postea Augustus firmiore ponte eum ligavit . . .*). Worthington asserts that Augustus did order a bridge built, and that modern 'scepticism is misplaced'. Views differ among other modern commentators: thus, e.g., Page, Gransden and Williams also appear to accept Servius' statement, Eden seems unsure and writes 'the reference may be general', whilst Fordyce says that the statement of Servius 'is an invention based on Virgil's words'¹. In his recent book, *Virgil's Aeneid: cosmos and imperium*, Oxford 1986, 208-9 & 355 n.59, P.R.Hardie confines discussion to the poetic, though not incompatibly with what follows.

The Araxes was the main river of Armenia (cf. W.Smith, ed. *A Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography*, London 1878, 188; and Tomaschek, *RE* II [1895], 402-4). However, there is no evidence to indicate that Augustus himself ever went to the Araxes (neither when he made his progress through Palestine and Syria after Actium, e.g. Dio 51.18.1, nor subsequently). Nevertheless Armenia certainly ranked highly among Augustus' foreign affairs, especially during the late 20s B.C. culminating in the settlement of 20 B.C.² Hence, although Augustus' triumphal scene on Aeneas' shield (8.714f.) is set as if part of the triumphs following Actium in 29 B.C., the clear Armenian association of the name 'Araxes' might allow speculation as to whether the allusion is in fact to these later events in Armenia in 20 B.C. (although cf. *Niphaten* at Horace, *Odes* 2.9.20, in the earlier context), rather than to the chronologically suitable, and poetically much overblown, settling of affairs with the Parthians a decade earlier after Actium (e.g. Dio 51.18.2-3; cf. Suet. *Aug.* 17.3 *ad fin.*). Virgil and Horace had frequently alluded to this previous settlement in earlier poems: *Georgics*, 1.509, 2.171, 3.30f., 4.561; *Satires* 2.5.62; *Odes* 2.9.19-22. In either case, poetic reference to Araxes-Armenia naturally falls into a list of Augustus' achievements or conquests on the edge of the (Roman) world (*Aeneid* 8.722f., and cf. Hardie, 355 n.59); and being associated with the allusion to the Parthians (*Aeneid* 8.726) fulfilled Caesar's intentions (e.g. Suet. *Aug.* 8.2; Vell.Pat. 2.59.4; Appian, *B.C.* 2.110; etc.), and the hopes of the poets (e.g. Horace, *Odes* 1.12.51f.; cf. Propertius 3.4.3-10).

The crux for the interpretation of the historical allusion is the date of the 20 B.C. Armenian settlement, because Virgil died only the next year. Thus, at *Aeneid* 8.726 and 728, is such a late allusion possible, and, moreover, probable? Comparative evidence from within the *Aeneid* does not resolve the matter. 1.288-290 refers to ' . . . Iulius, coming weighted with the spoils of the Orient' (trans. W.F.Jackson Knight), only the identity of Iulius is uncertain (cf. R.G.Austin, *P.Vergili Maronis, Aeneidos Liber Primus*, Oxford 1971, 109-111, and *idem*, . . . *Liber Sextus*, Oxford 1977, 243), as is the source of the *spolia* (Parthia or Egypt or elsewhere?). At 6.825, following Austin (*Liber Sextus*, 254), might the allusion to Camillus also be construed as a reference to a more recent return of lost standards in 20 B.C.? We know that Book 6 was publicly read sometime after Marcellus' death in 23 B.C. (6.680f. and cf. *vita Donati* 32), but whether the reading was late enough to allow such an allusion to events of 20 B.C. is unknown. It is always possible that Virgil was merely making an allusion to an expectation of such events. At 7.606 the feat does still seem to remain anticipated.

Conversely, a late allusion in Book 8 seems feasible. The death of Marcellus in 23 B.C. has been elaborately mentioned in Book 6 (860f.). The Parthian-Araxes allusion at 8.726 and 728 appears at the end of a eulogistic passage where reference to Augustus' greatest foreign, and most recent, triumph seems fitting. Moreover, it might be argued that another (cf. *supra*) reference to

¹ T.E.Page, *The Aeneid of Virgil*, vol.2, London 1900, 250; K.W.Gransden, *Virgil Aeneid Book VIII*, Cambridge 1976, 184; R.D.Williams, *The Aeneid of Virgil Books 7-12*, London 1973, 275; P.T.Eden, *A Commentary on Virgil: Aeneid VIII*, Lugduni Batavorum 1975, 192; C.J.Fordyce, *P.Vergili Maronis, Aeneidos libri VII-VIII*, Oxford 1977, 287).

² *Res Gestae* 27 & 29; cf. Suet. *Aug.* 21.3, *Tib.* 9.1; Dio 54.8.1-3, 59.9.4f., 55.10.18f.; Vell.Pat. 2.91.1; Livy, *Epit.* 141; Justinus 42.5.10-12; Ovid, *Fasti* 5.579-594, *Tristia* 2.227-8; Strabo 16.1.28 (748C.); Josephus, *Ant. J.* 15.105.

the earlier post-Actium affair would appear hackneyed. By contrast the later, genuine settlement of 20 B.C. (with actual recovery of the standards and honour lost to Parthia by Crassus, Decidius Saxa and Antony) seems both to suit the joint Parthian-Armenian reference, and be capable of praise by the later 20s B.C. (distinguishing *Georgics* 3.30f. and Horace, *Odes* 2.9.19f.) without obviously ringing very hollow against other poets' publicly expressed hope of these very years — until the settlement of 20 B.C. — for real action against the Parthians and recovery of the lost standards (e.g. Horace, *Odes* 1.12.51f.; Propertius 3.4.3-10). However, the associated allusions from *Aeneid* 8.724-8 provide little support, dating only a few years after Actium: the conquests of North Africa by L. Autronius Paetus, which earned him a triumph in 28 B.C., and of the Morini *et.al.* by C. Carrinas, for a triumph in 29 B.C. (*Aeneid* 8.724 & 727: cf. *CIL* I ed, 2. p.77; *PIR* ed, 2. A.1680; Dio 51.21.6 & *PIR* ed, 2. C.477). Also, despite my discussion above concerning the date, the language of the passage at *Aeneid* 8.725-8 might be compared favourably with the allusions to the earlier post-Actium triumphs of 29 B.C. at *Georgics* 3.30f. and Horace, *Odes* 2.9.19f..

The only conclusion therefore seems to be that the precise nature of the Parthian-Armenia allusion at *Aeneid* 8.726 and 728 remains uncertain. Nevertheless, both possibilities are of the same nature, and the choice of the 'Araxes' as the river of *Aeneid* 8.728 was clearly deliberate, both politically and geographically, as well as poetically (cf. Hardie, *op.cit.* 208-9 & nn.132 & 134).

In addition to the contemporary 20s B.C. allusion, the fact that Antony had retreated over the Araxes at the conclusion of his inglorious Parthian debacle of 36 B.C. will not have been lost on readers of a description of Augustus' recent victory over Antony in 31 B.C. (*Aeneid* 8.678f.; for the Parthian debacle e.g. Dio.49.22-31, also the disgracefully un-Roman compact made at the Araxes, Dio 49.44.1-2; Plut., *Ant.* 49.3-6; Vell. Pat. 2.82.1-3; Livy, *Epit.* 130; Florus 2.20). It is also possible that Virgil was partly alluding to the defeat of Cyrus the Great when he crossed the Araxes³. Cyrus had followed the (logically) sound advice of Croesus — ironically (in a Herodotean circular development of life, cf. 1.86.6 and 207.1-3) the king who had himself previously lost his own throne to Cyrus by rashly marching across the river Halys (Hdt.1.53 & 71f.). The theme is *hybris*, as Servius inferred when he wrote: *ARAXES hic fluvius Armeniae quem pontibus nisus est Xerxes conscendere*; no doubt thinking of Xerxes and the Hellespont (Hdt.7.34-5, 46-51; 8.20 & esp.77). However, the diplomatic Augustus had wisely not overborne himself, and had not followed Antony's rash, military, path in Eastern affairs. In addition to these possible allusion the comparison of Augustus with Alexander suggested by Worthington is probable (cf. Servius, and Curtius 5.5.3-4), as is a possible allusion to Pompey. Pompey had made an attempt to march on the Caspian, and in the process crossed the Araxes (App., *Mithr.* 103), but was then forced to abandon the enterprise and quite possibly returned along the Araxes in the sequel (Plut., *Pomp.* 36.1).

Nevertheless, although not impossible, it is difficult to agree with Worthington that Augustus (under auspices or not) necessarily had an actual bridge built. Seneca's employment of Virgil's phrase at *Quaest. Nat.* 6.17.1, ostensibly to demonstrate the violent force of constrained water, does not seem more than a Virgilian literary exemplar (cf. 6.2.2, 13.5, 18.2 etc.), and provides no evidence, or support, for Augustus' claimed bridge-building activities. In explanation: Virgil died in 19 B.C., and at that time Armenia was not a Roman province. Instead, as the *Res Gestae* expressly proclaimed, Augustus had not annexed the kingdom in 20 B.C. (as Antony had attempted to do in 34 B.C.), but had given the kingdom to Tigranes (*Res Gestae* 27). Before this, from the time of Antony's demise, and with Augustus' tacit recognition (cf. Dio 51.16.2, Suet. *Aug.* 48), Armenia had been ruled by the anti-Roman Artaxes⁴. Augustus' cold refusal of Artaxes' request after Actium (Dio 51.16.2) gives little grounds for believing that Augustus could, or would, have built a bridge over the Araxes at that time; whereas if it were assumed that Augustus could, and did, order a bridge to be built after the Roman settlement of

³ R.F. Thomas, *Lands and Peoples in Roman Poetry: the ethnological tradition*, Cambridge 1982, 43-44: Hdt.1.201-214, cf. 3.36, although Herodotus has confused the river names: G. Rawlinson, *History of Herodotus*, vol. I, London 1862, 275 & 463-5; F. Westberg, *Klio* 4 (1904), 182-192 at 187-9).

⁴ E.g. Tac. *Ann.* 2.3, Dio 51.16.2: cf. P. Asdourian, *Die politischen Beziehungen zwischen Armenien und Rom*, Venice 1911, 65-66; M. Pani, *Roma e i Re d'Oriente da Augusto a Tiberio*, Bari 1972).

Armenia in 20 B.C. there would seem to have been little time for its construction and subsequent incorporation into the text of the *Aeneid* by Virgil before his death in September 19 B.C.. Thus the use of the bridge allusion by Virgil might not have been (at least primarily) literal. Rather, drawing from the natural association of major rivers as the life blood, and hence representative, of the land, and the associated custom of carrying images of river gods in triumphs⁵, Virgil may have merely employed the river as a suitable representative metaphor for Armenia. The imposition of a 'bridge' then either symbolizes Augustus' over-blown diplomatic settlement after Actium or his later Armenian 'success' in 20 B.C. via diplomacy (cf. Dio 54.8.1-3) for which he was acclaimed Imperator for the ninth time.

Therefore the choice of the word 'bridge' can perhaps be viewed essentially as an appropriate, associated river-taming image — as earlier with the 'waves' in *Euphrates ibat mollior undis* (*Aeneid* 8.726, cf. Propertius 3.4.4, Horace, *Odes* 2.9.21-22, or the similar idea in Ovid, *Met.* 15.831: Hardie, *op.cit.* 208 & n.131). It is relevant that the Araxes was apparently renowned for the violence of its flow (cf. Seneca, *Quaest.Nat.* 6.17.1 and Hardie 208 n.132). Moreover, a bridge is a humanly imposed constraint capable of engendering resentment (*indignatus*) in the personified river (cf. the 'resented' breakwater of *Georgics* 2.161-2; and note that Quintilian, *Inst.* 8.6.11, regarded *Aeneid* 8.728 as an exemplar of bold personification). Hence, whether or not there was a tangible bridge was irrelevant. This interpretation of Virgil's poetic choice of the metaphor of the Araxes river (and bridge), conforms to the pattern established from the preceding river metaphors of the Euphrates and Rhine. Possibly, with *pontem indignatus Araxes*, Virgil was also drawing an analogy between the literal, civilized 'technological control of nature' (Hardie 208), and the metaphorical 'success' of the civilized Romans (and Augustus) over the foreign 'barbarians'. Otherwise, *Aeneid* 9.728 provides the culmination of a celebration of Augustan *imperium* (of the type argued for by e.g. C.W.Welles, *The German Policy of Augustus*, Oxford 1972, esp.246-250).

In addition, similar later Latin use of the Araxes river as a conventional personification for Armenia might be observed in Statius, *Silvae* 1.4.9, 5.2.32 & 141; the first of these, ... *et patiens Latii iam pontis Araxes*, clearly echoing Virgil. Again, the use of 'bridging' here is perhaps as much an appropriate river metaphor for a conquest or success (in Corbulo's campaigns) as a literal record of engineering work; especially when a description of Corbulo's strategy at Tacitus, *Annals* 13.39.6, reveals the incidental fact that at least one bridge was previously in existence. We may also refer to Claudian, in *Rufinum* 1.376 ... *pontemque pati cogetur Araxes*, and Sidonius, *Carmina* 2.441-2 ... *non ut mihi pressus Araxes | imposito sub ponte fluat* ... (cf. also 7.74-6), for further post-Virgilian employment of the concept of bridging the Araxes as an image of eastern power.

Literal truth was not necessary for Virgil. Two further proximate instances of this are Virgil's imputation of the 'conquest' of the Goloni or Dahae (*Aeneid* 8.725 & 728), when even the *Res Gestae* only claims the receipt of embassies seeking friendship (31.2); and his overlooking of the Britons (well known from Caesar, *B.G.* 4.20-30 & 5.12-23, etc.), when the Morini of Belgium are described as the most remote of men (*Aeneid* 8.724, cf. Fordyce 287). This was poetic licence, like that found in Horace, *Odes* 4.25.21-24, where he writes: 'Not those who drink the deep Danube shall break the Iulian commands, nor the Getae, nor the Chinese or the faithless Persians; nor those born near the Don'.

The dangers of a literal approach to poetry are thus evident, but are not confined to that genre. For instance, there was no formal conquest of Armenia in 20 B.C., yet coins were issued by Rome bearing the strictly misleading legend of ARMENIA CAPTA (e.g. H.A.Grueber, *Coins of the Roman Republic in the British Museum*, vol.2, London 1970, 547-550).

Therefore, to conclude, it is suggested that, whatever the exact allusion, claims for a physical bridge *per se* seem uncalled for, and moreover irrelevant to an understanding and appreciation of *Aeneid* 8.728.

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⁵ So Fordyce, *op.cit.*(n.1), 287, with ancient references; J.Henry, *Aeneidea*, vol.III, Dublin 1889, 786; cf. Dio56.34.2 *ad fin.*; Hardie, *op.cit.* 208 n.131).

E.L.HARRISON (Leeds): *Odysseus' unexpected oversight* (*Iliad* 10.498-501)

LCM 13.2(Feb.1988), 30

Odysseus' performance in the *Doloneia* comes up to expectations with one quite trivial exception: and its very triviality and gratuitousness encourage the reader to give it a second glance. When Diomedes chooses him as partner in the spying expedition he at once discourages further talk and gets down to the business in hand: time is short and the protecting darkness will soon be gone (10.249-53). He is the one who spots the approaching Dolon (339-40), devises the best way to trap him (334-8), and successfully squeezes all the required information from him (382-441). He has the foresight to mark clearly the bush on which Dolon's spoils are placed, thus ensuring their easy retrieval later (465-8). And finally he has the presence of mind to realize that the newly arrived horses of Rhesus will as yet be unaccustomed to the horrors of the battlefield, and removes from the path they will have to take the corpses left in the wake of the now rampant Diomedes (488-93). Yet at the climax of this performance the poet reveals that when Odysseus uncouples Rhesus' horses it does not occur to him to take the whip from the chariot, and as a result he has to drive them along using his bow instead (498-501).

Why, then, does Odysseus spoil (by his standards, that is) such an admirable performance, and do so, moreover, in such an apparently pointless fashion? For the answer we perhaps need to switch our attention from the character to the poet and his narrative technique. At this point he is about to introduce two divine interventions. The first, Athene's, belongs to a familiar pattern, with the hero wavering between stipulated alternatives, and a deity breaking in on his thoughts to point the way (cf. C.Voigt, *Überlegung und Entscheidung*, Berlin 1933, 49ff.): in this case Athene warns Diomedes to end the exploit and make good his escape (509-11). The second, involving Apollo, then follows naturally as an angry response to Athene's interference (515-19), and is indeed anticipated by the goddess herself (511). But the poet has also now provided himself with the opportunity to introduce a simple verbal echo which, in its small way, helps still further to preserve the narrative flow. For after Athene's intervention Odysseus drives Rhesus' horses towards the Greek ships once more using his bow (514): and in the matching intervention it is the god with the silver bow who at once responds (515)

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DIOMED AND ODYSSEUS RETURNING WITH THE SPOILS OF RHESUS.



BRIAN ARKINS (Galway): *Catullus 1 and 47: a reply*

LCM 13.2(Feb.1988), 31-32

The notion of 'logotactic iconicity' advanced by E.D.Holtsmark (LCM 12.9[Nov.1987], 130-132) is certainly an interesting concept, but the precise use the author makes of it in regard to Catullus 1 and 47 is open to question.

Catullus 1

Positing a contrast between Catullus' *nugae* and the *cartae* of Cornelius Nepos, Holtsmark asserts: 'In the middle, all alone between the choice of Catullus' slender trifles and his own massive learnedness, sits the dedicated, living proof (*unus*) that any violator of the Callimachean esthetic of μέγα βιβλίον, μέγα κακόν must perforce be outflanked by thinner rivals' (130-131; emphasis of 'massive' mine).

But is it correct to speak of Nepos' 'massive learnedness'? *doctrina* is obviously assigned to his *Chronica*, but surely the point being made is that Nepos' work, as well as exhibiting Callimachean *doctrina*, simultaneously exemplifies the equally Callimachean virtue of brevity: for this history encompasses the whole of time (*omne aevum*) in a mere three volumes. 'Three' functions, in any case, in Latin, as code for a trivial number — as at Catullus 79.3-4; cf. Forcellini, s.v. *tres* — but the stress here is on Nepos' brevity as opposed to the prolixity common among historians. As in Livy's 142 books on Rome alone; or Tacitus' 16 books (or more) of *Annals* on a limited period; or, for that matter, the 16 or more books of Nepos' own *de viris illustribus* (published after Catullus' death).

There is therefore no contrast between Catullus' *nugae* and Nepos' *cartae*, since both conform to the Callimachean requirement of brevity. Consequently, the logotactic iconicity — which is undoubtedly there — functions to establish not a contrast, but a comparison between Catullus and Nepos. Nepos has in fact anticipated Catullus in achieving the Callimachean virtues of innovation, brevity, learning and technical skill; Nepos approved of Catullus' *nugae* at just the time he achieved all this; as a result, Catullus dedicates his *libellus* to Nepos and therefore implicitly claims the same Callimachean virtues for himself (cf. LCM 8.2[Feb.1983], 19).

Catullus 47

As the author of a book entitled *Sexuality in Catullus* (Hildesheim 1982) I have no difficulty with the appearance of sexual themes in Catullus. But I am not persuaded that Catullus 47 refers in a literal way to sexual acts that are homosexual, and prefer the notions that whatever sexual reference there is in the poem involves the displacement of sexual vocabulary, so that it refers to something else.

That something else is the failure of Catullus' friends Veranius and Fabullus, as elaborated in Poem 28, to enrich themselves during their time as part of the *cohors* of the governor Piso in a Roman province (whether in Macedonia with L.Piso Caesoninus in 57 B.C. [R.Syme, *C&M* 17 (1956), 129-134, = *Roman Papers*, ed. E.Badian (Oxford 1979), I, 300-304] or in Spain with the putative L.Piso Frugi [T.P.Wiseman, *Catullan Questions* (Leicester 1969), 38-41]). Which is what Catullus himself also complains of at Poems 10.9-13 and 28.9-10 in regard to his own time with the *cohors* of C.Memmius in Bithynia in 57 B.C..

In both poem 10 and Poem 28 explicit sexual vocabulary is used, and in 28 specific acts of oral sex are also referred to. But what is in question here is the use of sex as a metaphor for abusing a person, the specific form of abuse being the refusal of Piso and Memmius to enrich their staff, something they felt they were entitled to. A precisely analogous usage is found in English in the case of the sexual verb 'fuck (up)' - *SOED* s.v..

That this usage was found in Latin was demonstrated in regard to *irrumare* by Housman (*Hermes* 66 [1931], 407-9, = *The Classical Papers of A.E.Housman*, edd. J.Diggle & F.R.D.Goodyear [Cambridge 1972], III, 1179-81). So at Catullus 10.12 the noun *irrumator*, which literally means a man who makes another suck his penis in oral sex, clearly functions as a term of abuse directed at Memmius — as with English 'fucker', 'bugger'. Then Catullus 28.9-10 deals with the act of oral sex perpetrated by Memmius upon Catullus — *o Memmi, bene me ac diu supinum | tota ista trabe lentus irrumasti* — but again does so in order to attack the governor for not allowing the poet to make money in Bithynia. At the same time Memmius' voracious appetite for sex functions through the device of displacement as metaphor for his voracious appetite for money.

Immediately after that Catullus asserts with regard to Veranius and Fabullus: *sed,*

quantum video, pari fuistis | casu: nam nihilo minore verpa | farti estis. To which the comments just made again apply.

Which brings us to Poem 47. The essential point is that, whereas Porcius and Socraton have made money out of their service with Piso and consequently can afford to enjoy lavish dinner-parties, Veranius and Fabullus have not made money in this way and consequently must angle in the street, like parasites, for invitations to dinner (cf. Catullus' inability to provide dinner for Fabullus in Poem 13). It is in that sense that Piso prefers Porcius and Socraton to Veranius and Fabullus. Because he has done so, Catullus applies two verbs with a sexual connotation to Piso: at a literal level both *verpus* and *Priapus* refer to his voracious appetite for sex in general and oral sex in particular (as the verbal link between *verpus* here and *verpa* in Poem 28 makes clear); but at a metaphorical level these words function, in the way outlined, both as terms of abuse and as indications of Piso's voracious appetite for money. Consequently, there is no need to postulate literal sexual activity among the *dramatis personae* of the poem.

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IAN CARRADICE (British Museum): *The Greek coinage and sovereignty protest — a reply*
LCM 13.2(Feb.1988),32

I was interested to read D.Whitehead's criticism (LCM 12.10 [Nov. 1987], 136-8) of my review (LCM 12.6 [Jun. 1987], 85-6) of Thomas R.Martin's *Sovereignty and Coinage in Classical Greece*. My 'curious assertion' that the sovereignty theory was probably no longer believed by many was indeed based only on impressions gained unsystematically from (frequent) encounters with scholars (historians and numismatists) working on numismatic material. I should clearly have been more careful in my use of words (described as 'vague and lofty innuendo', though this was unintentional); this is, on reflexion, a fault in my review, and I cannot complain at it being pointed out.

However, I am disturbed by other assumptions based on my review, most notably that I see Colin Kraay as having been in some way a central supporter of the sovereignty theory (as Professor Martin seems to think), and the implication that I might then not have regarded Dr Kraay as a 'serious scholar'. This is completely mistaken. The frequent use of Kraay for expression of the sovereignty theory was, in fact, one of the features of the book that troubled me. It is ironic that I actually had Colin Kraay in mind when I wrote '... if a coinage is being interpreted with reference to the political realities of its time, does this necessarily mean that the commentator is under the influence of a theoretical notion ...' I assumed this might also have applied to other scholars. I can perhaps point out, as an example of what I perceived as characteristic of Colin Kraay's approach, the article 'Greek coinage and war' in *Ancient Coins of the Graeco-Roman World* (The Nickle Numismatic Papers, Waterloo, Ontario, 1984, pp.1-18). In discussing the electrum coinage of Mytilene, for instance, Kraay opposed the view that a single issue of electrum staters was made as a declaration of freedom on Mytilene's secession from the Delian League. Kraay's explanation for the issue — Mytilene needing to make payment for grain and archers from the Black Sea area in the type of coinage used in trade there — was typically based on an assessment of the individual case, not bound by adherence to some theoretical model.

Another point raised in Dr Whitehead's protest should also be clarified. This is the implied suspicion that I might have felt that Martin's 'unacknowledged assumption' could have been 'exhumed by him, for phoney polemical purposes'. This is unfair to both of us. To doubt that a theory is no longer current academic orthodoxy surely need not imply that there is a suspect motive behind its being brought out for re-examination.

I take the point about communication. Numismatists, like all others, have a duty to communicate their current thinking through publication so that this can be taken into account by historians either going into print themselves or preparing undergraduate reading lists.

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COIN OF CORINTH.